

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: EXCERPTS FROM SEMENOV/EARLE CONVERSATION, AUGUST 17, 1977
(SALT TWO -1356)

1. IN A CONTINUATION OF HEADS OF DELEGATION REVIEW OF
JDT HELD AUGUST 17, SEMENOV MADE STATEMENTS ON D&P AND
MALMSTROM WHICH MERIT CONSIDERATION.

2. SEMENOV INDICATED THAT HE WANTED TO ADDRESS ICBM
LAUNCHERS AT MALMSTROM AND D&P AND FIRST, STATED THAT
THE ANTENNAS OBSERVED BY THE US SIDE AT MISSILE SITES
AT D&P COULD BE USED AS ONE OF THE EXTERNAL DISTIN-
GUISHABLE FEATURES OF RS-18 MISSILES. HE NOTED THAT
LAUNCHERS OF THESE MISSILES WERE DEPLOYED SEPARATELY
FROM LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS OF ANOTHER TYPE WHICH WERE MIS-
SILES WITHOUT MIRVS. AT THE SAME TIME, SEMENOV HAD TO
STATE THAT RS-18 MISSILES DIFFERED FROM THE OTHER TYPE OF
MISSILE DEPLOYED IN THESE AREAS NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF
EXTERNAL APPEARANCE AND DESIGN, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF
OVERALL DIMENSIONS AND WEIGHTS. ON THAT SCORE, CONVERTING
SILO LAUNCHERS OF ANOTHER TYPE FOR LAUNCHING RS-18 MIS-
SILES, WOULD REQUEIRE A LONG PERIOD OF TIME COUNTED IN
MONTHS AND SUCH CONVERSION COULD NOT BE CONCEALED FROM
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US NTM.

3. I POINTED OUT, AS WE HAD DONE PREVIOUSLY, THAT
LAUNCHERS WHICH APPEARED TO BE THE SAME TYPE AS THOSE
AT D&P HAD BEEN USED FOR TESTING MIRVED MISSILES WITHOUT
THE PRESENCE OF THE ANTENNAS HE HAD MENTIONDED. WITHOUT
FULLY ADDRESSING THIS ISSUE, HE STATED THAT IN HIS OPINION

HE HAD APPROPRIATELY CLARIFIED MY QUESTIONS POSED ON JULY 14.

4. AFTER A PROLONGED DISCUSSION OF EXTERNAL DISTINGUISHING FEATURES, SEMENOV STATED THAT MY FURTHER QUESTIONS HAD FORCED HIM TO SAY A FEW THINGS ABOUT MALMSTROM, AND THAT SINCE THE US HAD INITIATED DISCUSSION OF D&P, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE NOT TO ADDRESS COMPREHENSIVELY ALSO THE QUESTION OF LAUNCHERS AT MALMSTROM. HE ASSERTED THAT THE SITUATION IN THESE AREAS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND AT MALMSTROM WAS THE SAME IN THAT BOTH CASES INVOLVED TWO DIFFERENT TYPES OF ICBM LAUNCHERS, THAT IS, ICBM LAUNCHERS WITH MIRVS AND ICBM LAUNCHERS WITHOUT MIRVS. PRECISELY THIS HAD TO BE REFLECTED IN THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II, PARAGRAPH 5, THE DRAFT OF WHICH WAS CURRENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION IN THE DRAFTING GROUP. HE FURTHER STATED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAD NOT INVENTED THE QUESTION ABOUT MALMSTROM, BUT ACCORDING TO SOVIET NTM, IN CONTRAST TO THE SITUATION TO D&P, LAUNCHERS OF MINUTEMAN II AND MINUTEMAN III MISSILES AT MALMSTROM HAVE A HIGH DEGREE OF STANDARDIZATION. BASED ON THEIR ANALYSIS THE PREPARATION OF ONE MINUTEMAN II SILO LAUNCHER FOR MINUTEMAN III MISSILES, INCLUDING REMOVAL AND INSTALLATION OF MISSILE, WOULD REQUIRE NO MORE THAN THREE WEEKS. THUS, THE QUESTION AROSE WHETHER MINUTEMAN II AND MINUTEMAN III LAUNCHERS

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COULD EVEN BE CONSIDERED LAUNCHERS OF DIFFERENT TYPES. ARE THEY NOT BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF DUAL-PURPOSE, THAT IS, OF BEING ABLE TO LAUNCH BOTH MINUTEMAN II AND MINUTEMAN III MISSILES? HE STATED THESE QUESTIONS ARE PRESENTLY BEING STUDIED BY THE USSR.

5. I ANNOUNCED THAT THAT WAS ONE OF THE ODDEST STATEMENTS I HAD HEARD IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. FOR TWO YEARS, THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAD BEEN ASSURING US THAT IT HAD NO DIFFICULTIES IN DISTINGUISHING BY NTM BETWEEN MINUTEMAN II AND MINUTEMAN III LAUNCHERS, AND THAT ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO WHEN I HAD PROVIDED SEMENOV WITH UNCLASSIFIED STATEMENT ON THE LAUNCHERS AT MALMSTROM, HE HAD COMMENTED THAT THESE WERE EXACTLY THE NUMBERS WHICH THE SOVIETS HAD ARRIVED AT THROUGH NTMS. I SAID THAT IT SEEMED TO ME THAT EITHER SOVIET NTMS HAD DETERIORATED DURING THIS TIME OR THAT SEMENOV'S STATEMENT TODAY WAS INTRODUCING UNNECESSARY PROBLEMS INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. SEMENOV NOTED THAT HE HAD NO SUCH INSTRUCTIONS TO EVER CALL A US STATEMENT ODD.

7. IN SUMMARIZING HIS STATEMENT, SEMENOV ASSERTED THAT IT SHOWED CLEARLY THAT AT D/P THERE WERE TWO DIFFERENT ICBM LAUNCHERS, 60 LAUNCHERS OF RS-18 MISSILES AND 120 LAUNCHERS WHICH WERE LAUNCHERS OF A DIFFERENT TYPE OF MISSILE WITHOUT MIRVS. THE SOVIET SIDE HAD SHOWN THAT IN CONTRAST TO MALMSTROM, STANDARDIZATION OF ICBM LAUNCHERS AT D&P WAS IMPOSSIBLE. IN MY CLOSING REMARKS I NOTED THAT INsofar AS SEMENOV'S COMMENTS ON MALMSTROM WERE CONCERNED, I HOPED TO HAVE HIM AMPLIFY THE RELEVANCE OF HIS STATEMENT MADE THIS DATE WITH REGARD TO THE LAUNCHERS UNDER CONSIDERATION. EARLE

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